John Carter Brown

38.

B. J. + W. M.

An

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Preſent State of *Nova-Scotia* :

IN

Two LETTERS to a Noble Lord :

One from a Gentleman in the Navy lately arrived from thence.

The other from a Gentleman who long reſided there.

Made publick by his Lordſhip's Deſire.

LONDON Printed, 1756.

My LORD,

YOU ſeem'd to be greatly pleaſed with the account I gave you after my firſt voyage to *Halifax*, of the ſurprizing progreſs of that ſettlement ; how inſtantaneouſly the woods were converted into a city, the alacrity and joy that appear'd in the countenance of ever ſettler, encouraged by the affability, the courteouſneſs and wiſe conduct of the thenGovernour, what prodigious numbers of people flock'd there from the northern colonies, ſcarce a day paſſing without the arrival of a multitude of ſettlers, drawn there by his ſpreading fame.

Your Lordſhip was then pleas'd to remark, we ſhould ſoon ſee an ample amends made for the national expence, that itwas extending a frontier into the very bowels of the *French* colonies, and that a few Years would put it out of their power to injure our colony trade.

Your remarks my Lord were juſt, and I could wiſh the ſucceſs had been equal to its promiſing beginning ; but your Lordſhip would be ſurpriz'd could you now ſee its deſolate ſituation, moſt of the Inhabitants are fled, for what reaſon my Lord you ſhall know hereafter ; one diſcovers in the countenances of thoſe who remain, a ſetled deſpair, the common converſation are groans and ſighs ; for how incredible ſoever it may appear to your Lordſhip, it is againſt the Law there to ſpeak, it aſtoniſh'd me beyond meaſure, I began to enquire of thoſe people who were moſt likely to inform me, ſince I had your Lordſhip's command to acquaint my ſelf as thoroughly as I could of the ſtate of the country. I have often addreſs'd my ſelf to the inhabitants ; If you have any grievances, why don't you apply to the Governour for redreſs, ſince every body agrees he is a good man, and diſpos'd to do every thing in his power to ſerve the publick ? all the anſwer I could get was, that truly the Governour was a good man, but——— I found the inhabitants were all tongue-ty'd in the ſame manner.

It appear'd very odd to me my Lord, who am an engliſh man, and it was ſometime before I could find a clue to this odd humour, at laſt I met with one of their province laws againſt ſcandal, which is really a very curious

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one, and which I herewith inclose you ; this will unfold to your Lordſhip the reaſon every one there is oblig'd to have a But —— to his diſcourſe.

Being a Stranger to the preſent inhabitants, for almoſt all the old ones are chang'd, of five thouſand, there are ſcarce five hundred now in the place, and two thirds of them are new inhabitants,chiefly roman catholicks,I had no way left to collect particulars but by my own obſervations ; for this reaſon I inſinuated my ſelf into all companies, and from great diligence and careful remarks, I ſend you my Lord, this deſcription, if it is a little droll tis becauſe the ſubjects of it are ſo themſelves.

The parliamentary grant my Lord, may be compared to a man who toſſes a few guineas among a croud, there is great ſcrabbling, but the luck happens to thoſe few who catch the guineas ; with this diſtinction that, that happens only by chance, this is diſtributed by direction ; thus you will ſee my Lord in *Halifax* three or four rich men, the reſt are all beggars, who would if they dare call themſelves freemen.

You would imagine my Lord, by the lofty behaviour of theſe three or four, that the ancient ſtate of vaſſalage was in faſhion there, and as their conduct is very ſingular, I beg your Lordſhip's patience while I attempt to give you ſome deſcription of them.

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The firſt my Lord, is the Knight of the gooſe quil, he is a very extraordinary perſon in his kind and has ſomething ſingular in his birth, ſhape, and behaviour, he is my Lord the ſon and the only ſon of a celebrated gentleman formerly well known in the navy by the name of captain *Millmybuff*, and to the reſt of the world by his great affectation and pride, and who (to prevent his cruelty and tyranny) had the honour of a command in the yellow ſquadron; to this ſon, dying, he bequeath'd what he himſelf eſteem'd moſt valuable in his life, his pride, his obſtinacy, and his cruelty, with his cheſt of lac'd cloaths & horſewhips. The young knight far from following the common cuſtom of young heirs, who when they become poſſeſs'd of the affluence of their anceſtors, imagine there is no bottom to their patrimony, though he has made daily uſe of the three firſt legacies, he has been ſo far from diminiſhing the ſtock, that he has improv'd it to a greater degree, and as to the horſewhips which were a great number and very curious, he has lock'd them up ſafe in the cheſt, expecting in a ſhort time to make a proper uſe of them in correcting the inſolence of the inhabitants when they approach his awful countenance without that ſervile deportment which he thinks ſo naturally due to his terribility, or when they are brought into proper tam'd ſervility conſiſtent with the doctrine o

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paſſive obedience and nonreſiſtance, a favourite opinion of this ſwaggering knight.

The gallant admiral during his ſon's minority for his advancement put him apprentice to be a ſoldier, in the rules of which he pretends to have made great proficiency, but I have never heard but of one exploit worthy of remark, during my ſtay there he attacked a ſtrong fort ſituated at one end of *Halifax*, commanded by a marſhal, where to his immortal glory he vanquiſh'd three men in chains and led them victorioufly, triumphing in his conqueſt through the town to the fleet, ſupported only by a file of muſqueteers, with the breath of his mouth he has the courage to attack whole nations at a diſtance or behind their backs.

I was much perplex'd to find out the meaning of three great letters K.P.S. which he puts after his name, but upon enquiry found that he was keeper of the publick ſecrets.

His ſhape my Lord is extreamly well conſtructed for ſuch a repoſitory, his head is ſmall and belly very large, much in the ſhape of an old china jugg, capacious enough to hold all the ſecrets in the world, but there has been lately diſcovered a hole in his ſide through which many have tranſpir'd ; by his dreſs you would take him for the brother of the ape pictur'd in *Gay*'s fables, and by his chattering

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one that had lately made an elopement from his antick brethren at *Java*.

This truly accompliſh'd ape my Lord has the honour to be a C——r, nay ſome ſay the G——r's C——r, but this is not generally credited, the laſt being a Gentleman of too thorough an underſtanding not to ſee through the grimace of a monkey.

To give your Lordſhip a proper idea of the others, I am obliged to mix men & things together: I ſtrol'd one morning along the beach of the town to view ſome batteries lately erected there, I had heard it obſerv'd that a great deal of money had been ſpent to little purpoſe, and this being the obſervation of men of ſenſe in our fleet, gave great chagrin to the enquirers, one of whom was brought up a brother tar, the other a ſurgeon; the private conſultations of theſe two gentlemen to remedy the defect would afford your Lordſhip a ſmile: you are ſenſible my Lord, that education has a ſtrong influence on mens judgments, the brother engineers were much divided in opinion in what manner to apply a remedy, brother tar was for fixing a ringbolt in the center of each battery, and with a luff tackle to raiſe them to a poiſe with two cables fix'd at each end to veer and haul, while the doctor more wiſely thought the beſt way was to diſect them and bend them to a proper direction, and then ſplinter them in the middle and

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apply proper bandages ; the conſultation held for a long time, each perſiſting in his own opinion,till they diſcovered the tide had begun to undermine the batteries, when they both agreed to fix a large iron pin through the center, and turn them like vanes on a ſpindle as occaſion requir'd.

I was another time at the citadel and obſerving to my companion, that it was overlook'd by the hill that is above it, was doubting what could induce the experienced engineer to place it in that ſituation ; my companion reply'd I was no adept in matters of fortification, the engineer has obſerved to me, ſays he, when I was in the ſame doubt that from long experience he had found that the ſureſt aim of killing birds was when they were perch'd upon a tree, that a horizontal direction was not ſtreight from the retundity of the earth and the refraction of the rays, that to look from an elevation into a plain below was ſtill worſe, becauſe the air was groſſer, for look down ſays he upon a ſtreight ſtick put into water, and it will appear crooked ; this was reckoning like a philoſopher : As I am not acquainted with the rules of philoſophy and fortification, I ſubmit theſe reaſons to your Lordſhip's judgment.

Indeed the chief engineer is a wonderful man, for I have been informed upon credible authority that he directed all the lines and the

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firing of every bomb at the taking of *Beauſejour*, though he was in the camp the whole time at four miles diſtance.

And now my Lord I have mentioned *Beauſejour*, I muſt not omit a very extraordinary circumſtance, and it is affirmed by ſome of our brother ſailors who were there, that the honourable Colonel who commanded with four hundred regulars took the fort with the aſſiſtance of the engineer at four miles diſtance without ſtirring out of the camp,and without fighting; they further ſay that a thouſand irregulars that fought four days within four hundred yards, with all the train of artillery men, did not contribute the leaſt aſſiſtance towards it.

I ſhall now leave the engineers to ſpindle their batteries, and acquaint your Lordſhip with further particulars of *Halifax*.

I have mentioned to your Lordſhip the ſurgeon engineer, he is alſo grand Vizier of the publick works, every inhabitant who expects to be employ'd as a labourer muſt attend his levee; the great homage paid him,the awful majeſty of his ſtep,would induce your Lordſhip to think him a Baſhaw with three tails at leaſt,educated in the heart of *Ireland*, he has all thoſe genuine Accompliſhments ſo natural to the country, and ſo fond an affection for his country-men that few others are admitted into the publick works, they muſt have the

brogue,

brogue, the wooden croſs pendant next their dear hearts, and then they are ſure to be paid by his Clerk in rum, ſugar and brandy, or in God bleſs your honour, what you pleaſe, to the emolument of his office.

As to the language of the country my Lord I've little to ſay, the common dialect ſpoke at *Halifax* is wild Iriſh.

The engliſh of all denominations except thoſe above excepted, and one or two more, are ſtarving, houſes are ſold at about twenty pounds by the Dozen, for this general decay of that ſettlement various reaſons are given, ſome ſay its owing to the military form of government they are under, but to ſay this in *Nova-Scotia* is treaſon.

For a fuller deſcription my Lord, I refer you to Mr. *W.M.* who has a long time reſided in the Country, and has promiſed me by letter fully to inform your Lordſhip of all circumſtances, & from my converſation with him, ſince my arrival in *London*, I am not ſurpriz'd at the groans and deſpair of the engliſh inhabitants of *Nova-Scotia*, nor will your Lordſhip when you ſee his account of their circumſtances. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhips moſt obedient

and humble Servant,

J. B.

My LORD,

I Eſteem my ſelf highly honour'd in receiving your Lordſhip's commands by Mr. *J. B.* and would with the utmoſt chearfulneſs obey them ſo far as it is within the compaſs of my own Knowledge, ſince he has informed me that your curioſity leads you much into the ſtudy and knowledge of the Plantations, and that as their affairs at preſent were become the particular attention of the nation, I could not oblige your Lordſhip more than by giving a ſuccinct account of the ſtate of the province of *Nova-Scotia*, and if I could, to point out ſome method that would be conducive to revive the ſettlement.

I muſt confeſs my Lord that I am unequal as well as unfit for ſuch a taſk ; tho' my long reſidence in that country and the poſt I ſuſtained there, gave me an opportunity of knowing every material circumſtance, yet the ungenerous treatment I met with after long and faithful ſervices, I am afraid might influence me to be rather too bitter in ſpeaking the truth which needs no exaggeration.

I have therefore in order to ſatisfy your Lordſhip applied my ſelf to ſeveral gentlemen here in *London*, who correſpond with ſome of the inhabitants of *Nova-Scotia*, and have prevailed on them (the more carefully to ſatisfy your Lordſhip) to give me extracts of ſeveral letters lately received from thence, as in my opinion literary deſcriptions from perſons on the ſpot will afford your Lordſhip a better idea of the preſent ſtate of the country and the difficulties they labour under, for people under oppreſſion will ſpeak their ſentiments the moſt naturally. As I have procured many ſuch extracts which I apprehend will fully ſatisfy your Lordſhip of the preſent ſtate, I ſhall only add a few things in general.

The intent of his Majeſty being as I have always underſtood, to ſettle that colony with engliſh inhabitants under engliſh liberty, was the greateſt motive that induced me and a thouſand others to go there, and among many reaſons which have forced them to quit it, the following articles are not the leaſt.

Firſt, a military Government.

I do not mean my Lord, that the inhabitants are governed by marſhal laws, but that the Governour and gentlemen who compoſe the council are military men. And that they have no legiſlative power (as having no Aſſembly or Repreſentatives of the people) but uſurp that authority and publiſh laws by

edict,

edict, raiſe money by exciſe, appoint themſelves judges of their own laws, have puniſhed by whipping, fine, impriſonment, without indictment and without jury, powers and courts unknown to the engliſh conſtitution— from the mention of this only my Lord, it is eaſy to gueſs, if there was nothing more, that engliſh men will never contentedly ſet down under ſuch an adminiſtration.

The next is the diſpoſing the grants chiefly to military uſes, and not to the improvement of the colony.

I apprehend my Lord the people of *England* are deceived in this point : fifty thouſand pounds is granted annually ſuppoſed to be expended in the ſettlement of this colony, whereas not a tenth part is expended on that account, the reſt being applied in military expendatures, poſſibly the circumſtances of the colony might at this time require it ; but had one quarter of that money been diſtributed in bounties on clearing land and on the fiſhery, there would have been ſuch an increaſe of trade and navigation and huſbandry, that there would by this time have been ten ſettlers to one of the preſent, which would have excuſed ſuch a conſumption of engliſh manufactures as would have amply repaid them all the expence : before this time it would have become a ſecure frontier againſt the incroachments of the French, and in a ſhort time been able to ſub-

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ſiſt without further grants, whereas the colony is now as far from being ſettled as at the firſt embarkation, tho' ſome hundreds of thouſands have been expended.

Another grievance is employing military men in civil poſts.

This is filling the pockets of a few men already ſupported by his Majeſty who have no intereſt in the colony and little inclination to promote its progreſs, it being a matter of indifferency to them whether it ſucceeds or not, and therefore it accordingly happens that from their haughty ſupercilious behaviour every branch of buſineſs under their care labours under great delay and difficulties, and beſides the neceſſary employments, many others at no inconſiderable expence to the government are given them as fine cure's, ſuch as a great number of overſeers, military officers, and who have not an opportunity (being on out commands) of attending their duty from one years end to the another.

The laſt I ſhall mention to your Lordſhip and what has been fatal to the colony is, ſupporting and maintaining for theſe ſix years together a number of foreigners not in the leaſt attached to the engliſh government, a people always complaining notwithſtanding, and who are not like to make the leaſt effort towards a ſubſiſtence whilſt they can be maintained without it.

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Employing iriſh roman catholicks in publick works while his Majeſty's proteſtant engliſh ſubjects are ſtarving and begging their bread, and the Americans for the moſt part having quitted the colony and gone to their reſpective countries, the only proper people for cultivating foreſts lands. Theſe my Lord are the effects of a military adminiſtration, men preſiding over affairs with which they are unacquainted if their diſpoſitions were ever ſo good.

Thus my Lord the very pointing out their grievances ſhews at once the remedy ; the removing all military officers from civil employments, and employing the inhabitants only whoſe intereſt and all is at ſtake,and who by every ſtep they take to promote the ſettlement are at the ſame time promoting their own intereſt.

The fully eſtabliſhing a civil government in all its branches, and the giving them rights and privileges equal to the other colonies, and if with convenience it could be done, more and greater priviledges, for being an expoſed frontier, the dangers of invaſions are difficulties enough for that people to cope with were there nothing elſe ; but there are innumerable other difficulties they muſt go thro' with exceſſive hard labour, and this is chearfully undertaken where men can have freedom and liberty, which great privileges

to preſerve, this kingdom has often been embrued in blood, it therefore enjoys ſuch liberties as no other nation on earth can boaſt of, and without which no engliſh man will contentedly live.

The Extracts referred to are as follows, *viz.*

" The inhabitants of this province having no Repreſentatives, groan under the want of proper guardians to protect and defend their liberties and properties ; this has been a grand obſtacle againſt our having people from *New-England* and other parts of the continent to come and ſettle among us, as they enjoy this priviledge as well as all the liberties of engliſh men, in their full extent. We have even from the commencement of this ſettlement been labouring under the diſadvantages neceſſarily ariſing from the want of this glorious branch of the engliſh conſtitution, and it has not only been the reaſon why many who came into this colony, would not ſettle among us, but has been the real cauſe why ſo many have left the colony : Altho' we have four or five towns ſettled in this province, yet not one of them, even *Halifax* the metropolis, have ever had power to chuſe town officers, or to make by-laws for their regulation, as is cuſtomary in the towns in all his Majeſty's colonies in *America.* I can't forbear mentioning one thing which am very certain is peculiar to this colony,

colony, which is that we are tax'd by a duty on ſpirituous liquors without the conſent of the people, nor have we any voice in the diſpoſal of the money ariſing therefrom."

" All ſorts of people here in civil life are very uneaſy under the preſent adminiſtration, and would loudly complain (if they dare) of the want of thoſe priviledges and civil rights which the people of the other colonies enjoy, and which by the King's proclamation they were given to expect.

That they have military men for their rulers, and in conſequence of this, of many oppreſſive acts of government, of the arbitrary meaſures, and very partial behaviour of men in power here.

It would be eaſy to give many inſtances, that would fully juſtify their complaints, but the few which follow may ſuffice.

That all lucrative employments in the government are given to military men, while many induſtrious people in the civil way, who have ſolicited for the truſts, and however better qualified to diſcharge them, and who have families to maintain, are neglected.

That the inhabitants at any time of expected danger, are thruſt out of the town, there to mount guard, while the troops, who are hired to defend and protect them are ſuffer'd to remain within the gates.

That the troops, having no fewel allow'd them by the government, are let loose to plunder upon the inhabitants, who they rob (with impunity) not only of the fire wood which they procure (at a heavy expence) for the use of their families, but of the fences round their lots of ground without the town, which are all carried away by these people: nay even the very houses which one would imagine might be safe from their mercileſs depredations, are several of them pulled down and burnt, by these protectors of our property. And altho' frequent complaints have been made to the G——r of these intolerable injuries, the unhappy sufferers meet with no redress,"

" I cannot help mentioning one most glaring instance of abuse of the trust reposed in these military men, and that is,in the office of overseer of theKing's works, which is executed by one principal & several petty officers; the person who now has it,was formerly a surgeon,& is now an ensign in the army, and tho' altogether unqualified for such an employment (as being entirely ignorant of figures, or the method of transacting business) yet has a handsome salary, and many perquisites and advantages which are here allow'd of: but not content with these,he has contriv'd a way to make still greater gains, tho' in a very unwarrantable

warrantable manner, for he has caufed one of his underlings to open a fhop for the fupply of the people employ'd to work for the government, where in lieu of money they are paid in rum,brandy and other things at a moft immoderate price; indeed the difadvantage of receiving their pay in this manner is in fome meafure made up to thefe people, by allowing them a fourth or a fifth part more for their work, than would be neceffary if they received their pay in money, in due time; and as this difference comes from the King, who is very rich, perhaps the evil may not be tho't fo great, as to give reafon for complaint— Be that as it will the difadvantage, the trading people here fuffer by this means, is a very great grievance, many of them having laid out great fums in buildings, and merchandize to fupply fuch people with all the neceffaries of life on the eafieft terms, and have now no chance of felling any thing to them, while this man can withold their money,and oblige them to take their pay in his fhop at his own price. Here it will be natural for you to afk why complaint is not made to the Governour of this unparallel'd abufe; fo I'll tell you, tis becaufe the Governour is a military man, and favours no other but military men, and this leads me to the fource of all the grievances, all the evils of this poor colony; a military government;

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If you aſk what is the reaſon, that of the thouſands of people which flock'd here at the beginning of this ſettlement from the other colonies, there are hardly hundreds left: I anſwer, A military government; that of the poor few which remain, there is not one, except thoſe who ſhare the King's bounty, but who are diſcontented and dejected; Anſwer, a military government: That the Governours who have been ſent here by the King, and plentifully furniſh'd with money yearly, that they might cheriſh and ſupport this infant colony, which he was ſo fond of, inſtead of raiſing her to ſuch a degree of ſtrength as to be able in ſome meaſure to maintain and defend her ſelf, with the aſſiſtance of her neighbour colony, which it is the opinion of every man of ſenſe might infallibly have been done for a fifth part of the ſums which have already been waſted here, if judiciouſly apply'd, that is, if men of experience had had the management of them, they on the contrary have reduced her to a meer ſkeleton with hardly any remains of life? I anſwer, tis becauſe they are military men, and guided by military councils, whoſe trade and whoſe inclinations are to ravage and deſtroy a country inſtead of raiſing and improving it.

That for the vaſt ſums ſquander'd away here, there is nothing to be ſeen but a parcel of half built empty houſes, & two or three ſlight ill-

ill-contrived batteries, which are altogether uſeleſs for want of ſkill in the man who had the ordering of them, whom they call here an engineer, whoſe ſtupidity and ignorance in his profeſſion, has been ſo ſeverely ridiculed by the gentlemen of the navy, as well as the inhabitants, that he has not permitted himſelf nor his batteries to be ſeen ever ſince, for the inhabitants are not ſuffer'd to ſet foot upon them ; and this wretched ſpecimen of his art was manag'd according to *Nova-Scotian* policy, that is the offers of ſome of the inhabitants to do the work by the great, were refuſed, tho' they demonſtrated the expence would be leſs by half, that way than any other, & the work be finiſhed in half the time. You'l think this was ſtrange management, but there were reaſons for it ; in the firſt place, the inhabitants by contracting to do the work might poſſibly have been benefited by it (altho' they undertook it at a cheap rate) and that is contrary to a fundamental maxim of this military ſtate ; ſecondly, that the overſeer might have the benefit of paying the workmen and labourers in manner aforeſaid in his ſhop, in the profits of which ſome people here think his ſuperiours go ſhares with him ; but that I don't believe ; thirdly, that a number of idle ſubalterns might receive three or four ſhillings a day, unner pretence of being ſub-deputy overſeers, tho' ſome of them did not ſee the work once

a week. And fourthly, by paying as much again for every thing as was neceſſary ; any ſavings for the crown would be prevented, as theſe might poſſibly be ordered to be applied to the uſes the inhabitants have long in vain been praying for, that is, bounties on the produce of their induſtry : I anſwer, the reaſon of all this pretty management, is a military government.

That the account of the taking *Beauſejour*, ſent by C—l. *L—ce*, to Sir *T—s R—n*, was notoriouſly falſe, giving the merit of it to two poor creatures, who had not the leaſt ſhare in it, but who were glad to ſit quietly and ſafely in their tents four miles off, and guarded by all the regular troops they had ; while the *New-England* men, with the aſſiſtance of the brave captain *Brome*, contrived every thing, did all the work and took the place, perhaps a little ſooner than the valiant C—l in the tents expected ; and for their forwardneſs he has borne them a grudge, & has done all that was in his power to ſtarve them by cold and hunger ever ſince. As for the famous engineer, when he found the work was done without his help, he came ſkulking home like a dog that had loſt his tail ; and yet it was thought better to give the praiſe of taking the place to theſe two contemptible animals, than to thoſe who really deſerv'd it, becauſe they were *New-England* men and irregulars : But for this baſe and in-

jurious

jurious treatment of them, and for this falſe repreſentation to the King, no better reaſon can be given than that of a military Governour, who cannot bear that the praiſe of a military atchievement ſhould be given to any but the army—or elſe that theſe two lieutenant-colonels have made a bargain, like two ſecond late authors, to praiſe one another right or wrong, in hopes of getting a ſtep higher, and then the D—l take *Nova-Scotia*.—But what the reaſon was that the brave, the judicious, the vigilant captain *Brome* had not the honour to be mentioned in the ſaid letter, I will not pretend to ſay; but am pretty ſure he would have thought it a diſgrace to have been named in a letter that contain'd not one word of truth in it."

" This province being happily ſituated in the neighbourhood of a very plentiful country, (that of *New-England*,) it receives from thence its ſupplies of every kind of proviſion at an eaſy rate. And to this people alone can we apply (with ſucceſs) for any reinforcements neceſſary, either to repel or invade our enemy; and theſe they have ever very generouſly granted us, and it muſt be own'd that but for their timely ſuccours, this province (of ſuch importance to the crown) would once and again have fallen into the hands of the *French*. Nor are the happy events of this year, that of

 reducing

reducing the *French* fort of *Beauſejour*, & driving out of the country a numerous band of perfidious neutrals, leſs to be attributed to that generous people, who from a truly loyal diſpoſition, and tender concern for our ſafety and welfare, chearfully granted a levy in their province of two thouſand men, at a time when they could illy ſpare them, and who were almoſt the alone inſtruments of effecting theſe bleſſed events.—Surely then, the moſt grateful acknowledgements (at leaſt) are due to that province in general, and to thoſe brave men in particular to whoſe ſervices we owe our preſervation.—But is not the very reverſe of this moſt flagrantly manifeſt? For not only are the officers of theſe troops treated with the utmoſt contempt and neglect, but are not we ſhock'd to ſee in the magazine of *July*, a moſt v—s letter from C—l *L—ce*, to Sir *T—s R—n*, fill'd with the moſt glaring miſrepreſentations of facts and notorious untruths, wherein the ſucceſs of the enterprizes up the bay, are almoſt wholly attributed to thoſe who were in no ſhape aſſiſting, and little or no mention made of thoſe brave *New-England* men, who, with the aſſiſtance of a worthy veteran of the train of artillery, with a few of his men, did all the duty.

This baſe and unworthy treatment of our beſt friends, muſt reflect great diſhonour upon us, and give us reaſon to fear, that however

preſſing

preſſing may be any future emergency, we can never have any farther aſſiſtance from that injur'd province."

" A moſt glaring inſtance of the mercileſs treatment which the brave *New-England* troops, who effected the reduction of *Beau-ſejour*, and removing the neutrals, I cannot omit mentioning ; it is this, that the regular ſoldiers who never fired a gun, were countenanc'd in killing the French cattle, hogs and ſheep, while the *New-England* men were not only prevented, but even reduced to the neceſſity of purchaſing the meat of the ravagers at four pence per pound, or go without freſh proviſions, whilſt the others regaled themſelves at no other expence than what their diverſions afforded them : and at the ſame time the damag'd proviſions taken in the French fort, was all the ſubſiſtence the *New-England* troops had during three months, except that which they bought in the manner I have related : the *New-England* troops ſuffer'd many other abuſes on this expedition too tedious now to relate, but which for the good of this colony deſerves a ſtrict enquiry."

" Although I don't ſcruple, but that Col. *Lawrence* is diſpos'd to advance the proſperity of the province, nevertheleſs it is an indiſputable truth, that men in the higheſt rank are

too frequently unacquainted with the real ſentiments and diſtreſſes of thoſe they govern, owing to the choice they make of favourites, in whom they are apt to place an unbounded confidence, ſuch perſons ſo diſtinguiſhed are generally eſteem'd by their patrons men of capacities and knowledge, and it is ſeldom they want art or addreſs to perſwade their ſuperiours, that all their meaſures are commendable, and are conſtantly endeavouring to keep from the knowledge of their patrons every thing that may give preſent uneaſineſs, however intereſting to the general good of the dependent ſociety, the ſervice of their King, or the reputation of thoſe who place in them an unmerited confidence : nor is it uncommon for ſuch people to be frequently inculcating that men of honeſty and judgment, act from different principles, and with different views, the better to ſecure their own power and influence.—Thus much being premiſed, it is not ſtrange that Col. *Lawrence* ſhould be the leaſt acquainted of any other man with the univerſal uneaſineſs that prevails in all ranks of the inhabitants that his councils are influenc'd by gentlemen in the army, who are unacquainted with trade, and thoſe political maxims that are found by experience moſt efficacious in theſe American regions. ——It is a general obſervation, and occaſions much diſcontent, that our liberties are reſtrain'd, and

that

that we ſhould be ruled by officers in the army, who have no other perſonal intereſt or connection with the province, than what a temporary ſalary may occaſion. Indeed it is ſtrange that ſuch perſons ſhould have any ſhare in the civil adminiſtration ; and what increaſes the diſguſt is, that thoſe are the people who make the moſt ſtrenuous oppoſition to every meaſure offer'd to ſave this ſinking colony."

" The form of the government is not agreable to the King's proclamation, which gave encouragement that the ſame ſhould be eſtabliſh'd here, as in the other plantations, which conſiſts of Governour, Council and houſe of Repreſentatives, in lieu of which here is only two branches of a legiſlature, viz. Governour and Council, and thoſe chiefly military men. The conſequences of which are ;

That the people are obliged to ſubmit to laws unreaſonable and oppreſſive.

That they are tax'd without their conſent, and the money ariſing therefrom, diſpoſed of without their knowledge.

That the vaſt ſums of money granted by Parliament with a view of promoting the increaſe and welfare of the colony, have been expended without effecting thoſe ſalutary purpoſes, for at this day not one third of the inhabitants (who undoubtedly would have been

uſeful

uſeful ſettlers) remain ; and of thoſe who do, not a man is able to ſubſiſt upon the produce of his land, nor is there any trade eſtabliſhed, or fiſhery carried on in the colony,as no part of the parliamentary grants, have ever been applied for thoſe ends, but the whole has been appropriated for the ſupport of the troops, unneceſſary ſalary men, &c.

That great injuries accrue to the people in trade from the partial and irregular management in the pay office,great delays of payment are very juſtly complain'd of.

The pay-maſter is a military man,of a very haughty & inſolent behaviour,and tis with the greateſt difficulty he is ever to be ſpoke with, tho' the occaſion be never ſo emergent : his clerk ſuffer'd to keep a ſhop, furniſh'd with an aſſortment of goods, may be the reaſon why the artificers & labourers employ'd by the government are not paid their money as ſoon as they have earn'd it, for theſe perſons not being able to ſupport their families without an immediate ſupply, are obliged to take up neceſſarys of the ſaid clerk, which prevents a diſtribution (through the town) of the money which theſe people might otherwiſe receive, and which might be a ſupport to many perſons in trade."

" It has been all along a great misfortune to this ſettlement,that the Governour's ear is engroſſed

engroſſed by two or three military men who are always about him,& who ſtick at nothing which they think will make for their own intereſt ; by their means the true ſtate of things is conſtantly hid from him, and the inhabitants have no chance of having their grievances redreſſed, and tis well for him if in the end it does not prove fatal to himſelf ; his friends are at this time vaſtly uneaſy for him upon account of the letter he ſent to Sir *Thomas Robinſon*, about the taking *Beauſejour*, which was directly contrary to truth, it being now univerſally known to have been taken by the *New-England* troops only ; aſſiſted by the artillery under capt. *Brome*, whereas you know he attributed it to thoſe who had very little more concern in it than I had who was all the time at *Halifax*. This viliainous miſrepreſentation, is by every body here placed to the account of his favourite the ſecretary, whoſe wicked heart and fooliſh head, too much juſtifies the ſuſpicion, and what very much corroborates it is his known inveteracy againſt the *New-England* men. One inſtance of it I will give you, ſoon after the Governour received an account of the taking *Beauſejour*, and before the circumſtances were known to any but him and his favourite, two captains in the navy being in company with the latter, aſk'd him how the *New-England* men behav'd upon that occaſion ? He anſwered, they behav'd like

raſcals

raſcals as they always did and always would, they ran away. I could give you a great number of inſtances of this man's folly and wickedneſs, but *ex pede herculem.*"

" I can't omit to mention one very extraordinary affair which happen'd here lately. There were three men after a fair tryal at the ſupream court, ſentenced to be branded in the hand and to ſuffer nine months impriſonment, the firſt part of the ſentence was immediately executed, then they were put into priſon where they were loaded with very heavy irons, in which circumſtances they lay about eight months, at which time to the great aſtoniſhment of every true born engliſhman, one *Cotterell* who is a captain in the navy, from a prejudice againſt theſe unhappy priſoners on account of their country (being *New-England* men) went to the priſon with a file of ſoldiers, and without any legal authority obliged the goaler to deliver them up, who he *vi et armis* carry'd on board one of his majeſty's ſhips lying in the harbour; the ſhip at that time had a violent fever raging on board, the conſequence of which was, that two of the priſoners were immmediately ſeiz'd therewith, one of which dyed in a few days. The friends of theſe unhappy men are determin'd, that if ever capt. *Cotterell* makes his appearance in any other government beſides this, they will convince him

him they are engliſh men, and that engliſh laws will give them juſtice in any place where a proper civil government is eſtabliſh'd : But as to a proſecution here it would not be admitted, and indeed no attorney dare fill a writ againſt this great court favourite, as he muſt be ſure to ruin himſelf thereby."

" TheGovernour's favourite has lately done an act of the moſt glaring violence and oppreſſion that was ever known in the engliſh government, he went in the night and with a file of muſquiteers *vi et armis*, (for he could not poſſibly have any authority for ſo doing, it being contrary to all laws) broke open the goal and took from thence the three men, the time of whoſe confinement was near expired, and carried them on board the men of war on purpoſe that they might be preſs'd and ill us'd, which was accordingly done, yet this unparellel'd piece of impudence & injuſtice was huſh'd by the good natur'd Governour, who was loth to ruin him ; but 'twas then expected by every body that he would diſmiſs him from all his civil employments and leave him to exert his talents in the military way."

" It is matter of great complaint, that a military man with a very ſuperficial head and bad heart (for which he is juſtly deſpiſed and hated by all the people) has the immediate

ear of the Governour, and is his principal (if not only) closet councellor in all matters civil as well as military :—that this man treats the people with great contempt and insolence ; that he was suffer'd to commit with impunity a most arbitrary and illegal act, that of taking out of goal a number of prisoners whose time of confinement was near expired, (and who were obliged by law to plead the King's pardon in his supream court) and putting them on board the man of war : that he has an apparent prejudice against all people in trade, especially against those who are *New-England* men ; his great impudence in aspersing the *New-England* troops touching their behaviour at the siege of *Beausejour*, by saying publickly that they behav'd like cowards and rascals, for that they ran away.

That great partiality is shewn in favour of the regular troops : that in a time of expected danger, the inhabitants were ordered to mount guard without the gates of the town, while the troops were valiantly to defend the forts within the pickets : that the soldiers are suffer'd (not being allow'd fire-wood by the government) to plunder the inhabitants, by robbing them of the fences round all their lots on the pininsula, and tho' frequent complaints have been made, yet no redress to the great discouragement of the industrious settler : that where labourers are to be employed in the ser-

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vice of the government the preference has been given to a vagabond roman catholick, and the induſtrious proteſtant refus'd notwithſtanding his having a family to maintain."

" The affairs of this province ſince my laſt have taken a moſt favourable turn, the reduction of *Beauſejour* and the reſolutions taken by the Governour and Council to remove all the neutral French, are the only circumſtances that could poſſibly have happen'd to have prevented the colony from falling to deſtruction, now we may hope ſoon to ſee an ample return made for the great expence the nation has been at in ſupporting the province ; the vacated lands in the bay of *Fundy*, you know will immediately afford ſubſiſtence for more than two thouſand families ; the proſpect of poſſeſſing farms already brought under improvement in a healthy climate, will be a ſufficient inducement for people to remove from ſmall tenements they hold upon leaſe, to enjoy fruitful poſſeſſions of their own which will remain in fee ſimple to their heirs. The grand objection and what you are ſenſible has already retarded the advancement of this colony I hope next ſpring to ſee remov'd, and the conſtruction of the province eſtabliſh'd on ſo firm a baſis, that the inhabitants of *Nova-Scotia*, may no longer be ſtigmatiz'd as ſlaves to a military government. The eſtabliſhing an

houſe of Repreſentatives, and removing all military officers from the council and every civil employment, muſt turn more to the intereſt of the colony than any other meaſure that can poſſibly be deviſed ; it is now evident that the granting proviſions to the ſettlers has not proved an effectual method to encourage an induſtrious diſpoſition among them, on the contrary it is to be lamented that ſuch prodigious ſums of money have been laviſh'd to very little purpoſe, for at this day it would puzzle any man to point out five families in all the country who are able to ſubſiſt upon the productions of their farms, gardens or any other improvement made by them, notwithſtanding the Germans have been partially indulged with proviſions, many of them from their firſt coming into the province to this day, which in ſome inſtances is at leaſt four year : in ſhort it is too apparent that this method of ſupplying them with proviſions has rather promoted an indolent behaviour than anſwer'd any good end, for certainly ſo long as people of lazy conſtitutions can be fed without labouring, they will not work ; a remedy for this inconvenience has already been pointed out long ago in the remonſtrance that was made to the Governour and Council to obtain the concurrence of the Lords of trade in granting neceſſary bounties on the natural productions of the colony, whether the memorial was

ſuppreſs'd

ſuppreſs'd here or not is a fact I am ignorant of; but of this I am certain, that five thouſand pounds expended in a way that can only be an encouragement to induſtry, and paid only where a certain proportion of labour has been perform'd, muſt neceſſarily produce more good conſequences than forty times that ſum expended upon proviſions to feed indolent unthinking wretches, or furniſhing a Governour an opportunity to gratifie his favourite military officers with ſalaries for overſeeing a ſet of labourers at fifty miles diſtance."

" The reduction of *Beauſejour* and the arrival of admiral *Boſcawen* with ſuch a grand ſquadron of ſhips in theſe ſeas, and the intentions to remove the neutral French out of this province are memorable events which will forever conſtitute this year the æra of *Nova-Scotia*'s proſperity, nothing now remains to improve this advantage gain'd of the French (which is of more conſequence to the nation than any ſucceſs the weſtern armies can poſſibly atchieve) but to hit upon ſuch methods as may encourage a ſet of faithful ſubjects to improve that fine country which the perfidious neutrals are to be removed from, the preſent form of government which we live under is as neceſſary to be aboliſh'd and the conſtitution chang'd as it was to drive the frenchmen out of the province: The odium of our being

ing reſtrain'd to ſubmit to be govern'd by a Governour & four or five officers or placemen creatures of his, is too well known throughout America not to be an invincible obſtruction to the improvement of the ſucceſs we have gain'd ; it is with too much truth the inhabitants are reproach'd with being the ſlaves of military power, for where the people have no voice by their Repreſentatives in the laws which govern the country they live in, they are to all intents and purpoſes as much ſlaves as the inhabitants of France or Rome : However as the yoke begins to gall it is to be hop'd ſome ſtruggle will be made in ſuch a manner, before next ſpring, as will reſtore to the inhabitants of this country, the ſame liberties which they enjoy'd in the different parts of the King's dominions from whence they came."

" It is with great pleaſure I can now aſſure you, that the neutral French are all tranſported from the bay of *Fundy* to his Majeſty's other governments in *North-America*, and tis generally concluded this declining colony will begin to revive by being rid of that herd of perfidious wretches: certainly they poſſeſs'd the beſt part of the country, I'm well inform'd that the lands which they have evacuated is as rich & fertile as is to be found on any part of the globe ; but who will poſſeſs thoſe lands is uncertain ; no grants have yet been made

to

to any 'perſons whomſoever, but I hear that ſeveral of the military officers have choſe out farms where they lik'd beſt,and have actually taken poſſeſſion of them ; one thing is certain, that particular favourites have allow'd to bring from thence large droves of cattle without paying any conſideration,which they have ſold at a great price here and put the money in their pockets, while many of the honeſt and induſtrious, many of the indigent and neceſſitous, upon application, have been deny'd even a cow to ſupply their families with milk."

" The deſign of things ſeems to be inverted, for inſtead of the military people being ſent here to defend the inhabitants,you would imagine they were ſent ſolely for their own advantage, and the buſineſs of the inhabitants was only to do their dirty work, and upon my word I believe ſome of the principal of theſe pretty gentlemen think ſo too.

" By certain management there has inliſted into the ſeveral regiments about two hundred ſettlers, who might otherwiſe have been uſeful inhabitants, theſe deluded men are chiefly Europeans, who have coſt theGovernment at home about ten thouſand pounds for their encouragement to come hither,their paſſages, proviſions here &c. this is truly infamous,

mous, and what is really matter of great grief to every man who has the intereſt of this government truly at heart."

" What I greatly blame the Governour for is that he never aſſociates, as the Governours in all the other colonies do, with the people in civil life, which is the only ſure way to be truly acquainted with things the moſt neceſſary to be known, and I am ſure there are ſome among them who are at leaſt equal if not greatly ſuperiour to any of the military men I have met with here both in knowledge and underſtanding, but his lieſure hours are all ſpent in the company of a few officers, who enjoy among them all the moſt lucrative poſts in the government, without doing any ſerviceable, or very little of any kind of buſineſs, except the moſt aſſiduouſly diſguiſing the truth in every thing which concerns the real intereſt of the colony and inhabitants, and diverting the Governour from doing the very things which he approves, for to one of theſe (who like the toad in the ear of *Eve* is conſtantly infuſing his venom into the Governour's mind) tis owing that the people fail'd in their petition to the Governour to repreſent home the great benefits which would ariſe from giving moderate bounties on the fiſhery, and other articles to be produc'd here, which it is evident to every man of experience

ence is the thing in the world the moſt conducive to the increaſing any kind of buſineſs, and conſequently bringing numbers of new inhabitants into the colony without any other expence: I ſay to this fiend they entirely owe the neglect of their ſo reaſonable requeſt, for the Governour in the moſt hearty manner, gave his conſent to it and aſſur'd them it ſhould be comply'd with by the firſt opportunity: this proves how dangerous it is even for an upright man to have thoſe always near him who have neither abilities to find out what is for the publick good, nor honeſty to adhere to it when diſcover'd; after this I think it is not at all ſurprizing that the people are diſcouraged from making any further repreſentations to the Governour of what is their intereſts, or what their grievances, ſo long as he is ſurrounded by a ſett of harpies, who ſeem to have no view but getting into their own claws as much as they can of the publick money, and conſequently grudge every penny that is diſpos'd of for the advantage of the inhabitants."

" It is now about a twelvemonth ſince the inhabitants of this diſtreſs'd colony, prefer'd a memorial to the Governour and Council, praying that they would repreſent to the right honourable the Lords of trade, the great advantages which might ariſe from a bounty being

allow'd at home on the produce & manufactury of this province, this memorial I hear was put upon file where tis like to remain, the inhabitants having heard nothing of it ſince. I am very confident that if one half the money which is laviſh'd away on gentlemen of the military order, under colour of their being overſeers of the works, foremen, ſub-engineers, &c. I ſay, if one half the money ſo ſquander'd was applied in giving bounties, that alone in the ſpace of two years would put this now declining colony into reſpectable circumſtances."

" I am really diſcouraged when I reflect on the melancholy circumſtances of this poor colony, you know my dear friend that as my intereſt is very large here, it muſt be matter of great grief to ſee the ſettlement daily declining; the want of a proper civil government being eſtabliſhed here, ſeems to be the univerſal complaint, the arbitrary meaſures made uſe of by military men in civil employments, has drove multitudes of uſeful and valuable ſettlers out of the province: the little trade we had is almoſt baniſh'd. Indeed it is a very juſt obſervation made by a great man long ago, that trade could never thrive and flouriſh under a military government: could I collect my debts and cloſe my affairs ſo as to leave the place without a very great

loſs,

loſs,I would very ſoon do it ; and indeed had I done it long ago, it would have been for my intereſt,at leaſt I ſhould have ſav'd the loſs of many bad debts which I have made thro' the people's growing poverty : No perſon ſtands any chance of advancing his intereſt here at preſent, unleſs he be a military man, or at leaſt one of their favourites : The Governour, the major part of the Council, the Secretary, the Pay-maſter of the publick works, theCollectors of the duties,the Regiſter of the court of Chancery, and every overſeer of the works, are all men of the military order, no man being permitted to enjoy any of theſe lucretive poſts who has not the King's commiſſion in the army."

Thus I am enabled to give your Lordſhip theſe extracts of letters, exactly as they were wrote, being aſſured you will not regard the dreſs of the complaints, but the truth of the facts therein mentioned, and that every article of them is true, I can bring a cloud of witneſſes to teſtify. I am,

with the moſt dutiful reſpect,

my LORD,

your Lordſhip's

moſt obedient and humble Servant,

W. M.